

# The FORUM

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## Gazette

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## Riberio on Rajiv

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By Amrik Singh

For quite some days now, the centre stage has been occupied by the CAG report on Bofors. This is understandable. What Riberio had to say on Rajiv Gandhi's policy towards Punjab has, therefore, been hardly noticed, except in passing.

In a sense what Riberio has said on Punjab is as much on indictment of the Centre's Punjab policy as the CAG report is on purchases for defence. The CAG's office is a statutory one. What the CAG says has the stamp of authority therefore, Riberio's official position was no less crucial, so to speak. Till a few weeks ago he was Adviser to the Governor. Before that, he was the Director General of Police in that state. Therefore, what he says has to be given weight.

Or to put it another way, he is not a private citizen like the rest of us. For almost four years, he handled the law and order situation in that troubled state. What he says therefore is the opinion of an

insider. He had access to the intelligence and other reports. He must have participated in scores and scores of official meetings with the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and everyone concerned with decision making in respect of

number of people have been saying over the years. And this is precisely what the Rajiv Gandhi government has refused to do. It is not necessary to go into the question of why this has not been done. What requires to be noted

**Riberio is willing to learn from experience. But his bosses are not. Some people say that they are unable to learn. If that be so, we are in a much worse situation. The needle of suspicion points inexorably in that unflattering direction.**

Punjab. When a person with that background says something, it cannot but be taken seriously.

What has he exactly said? Two things mainly. "The first part of the task—police forces going after the terrorists—is being done very well. But the other part of the job must be given a big place in our scheme of things .... The bigger action is to win the heart and the mind of the Sikhs."

But this is precisely what a large

is that according to the man selected to implement this policy at a very senior level, this is not being done.

In plain words, what Riberio was doing was to carry out the policy that he was handed down but, in his opinion, the policy is wrong. Evidently, Riberio must have put forward his perception of things. But equally evidently, he must have been overruled. Hence his compulsion to speak out."

This article could as well have been entitled Riberio versus Rajiv but that might have been regarded as somewhat sensational. However the plain, unvarnished truth is that, without mincing his words, Riberio has expressed his total opposition to the policy which he was required to carry out and did carry out for several years. Today however he has no hesitation in saying that it is not producing results and is indeed counter productive.

He can say so today for he is no longer the Adviser to the Governor. As long as he held that position he kept his opinion to himself. Being a disciplined man, he did not violate the discipline that he was required to observe, something that Chaman Lal, whom he supports unreservedly, had done with the result that he had to leave the state. Riberio is much more careful. He has spoken only after he stepped down from the restraints of office.

While doing so, he has praised Chaman Lal. By implication he has criticized the man now in office, K.P.S. Gill, and expressed his

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## "Traitors In Parliament"

By Baiju

The Prime Minister's Independence Day message delivered from the ramparts of the Red Fort on August 15 can hardly be termed as a 'message'. It was rather an attack on his political opponents. There was no stock-taking, no overview of the state of the nation, not even a casual reference to the global situation, and no setting down of broad goals for that the country has to work towards in the near future. It was plain and simple election speech. Using August 15 for this purpose indicates lack of respect for the occasion, which commemorates freedom and independence.

"Traitors are roaming about freely, even in Parliament", cautioned the Prime Minister during his speech. But he should have made mention of the names of the traitors to avoid the possible confusion the people would have had that traitors are not only roaming about freely but also ruling the country. But for some the reference was obvious, Mr Ram Jethmalani. But to them they know the

reason for Mr Jethmalani being called a 'traitor' that he tried to expose the real conspirators of Mrs Indira Gandhi's murder. Thus Mr Prime Minister's adducement worked only with a boomeranging effect.

against ministers and the Prime Minister. Of these, the anti-defection law was promptly enacted and the use which has been made of it is before us. Secondly, now the Prime Minister came out with the idea that prior-

**The people of the country have been of the inference that Mr Rajiv's amelioration of the judicial system was over till the Independence Day. But now they are afraid of a new wave of feebling of the judiciary.**

The Prime Minister said that he had two "great changes" reserved for the coming years. One being the restructuring of the judiciary, the second he did not spell out in his entire 50 minute speech with at least a passing reference. In January 1985 Mr Gandhi made three promises: The enactment of an anti-defection law, a reform of the judicial system to speed up justice, and the establishment of a mechanism for expeditious investigation into corruption charges

of the government would be to improve the judicial system "even if it required changes in the existing framework". But in February 28, 1986, Mr Gandhi himself said in the Lok Sabha that he had given a 'new look' to the judiciary. The people of the country have been of the inference that his amelioration of the judicial system was over till the Independence Day. But now they are afraid of a new wave of feebling of the judiciary. Having paid scant attention to the

basic reasons for delayed justice, shortage of judges and the foul play of the politicians, the government may try to bypass many institutions to give people justice, as political power is going to be given to people through panchayats. Going by the government's record in the past, this promise would raise apprehension about tinkering with one of our country's institutions which still retains an image of fairness, independence and adherence to principles. One can only hope that the government will not bypass these age-old institutions to give people justice fast. The third promise to establish a mechanism for expeditious investigation into corruption charges against ministers and Prime Minister, however, remains unfulfilled, unnoticed or ignored deliberately for Mr Rajiv himself be the first among the victims of Bofors and a lot more.

The most unfortunate of all these was not from his speech but the carrying of his election speech to the nook and corner of the country by the Doordarshan and All India Radio at the expense of the

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LETTERS

**Rajiv Gandhi Must Go**

**W**e welcome the decision of the 12 Opposition parties to tender resignation *en masse* from the Lok Sabha five months before the expiry of its term. They have indeed set up an unprecedented example of unity for which they would be remembered for all times to come by the countrymen.

The Government deserves condemnation for denegrating the august institution of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India which carries the status of the Judge of the Supreme Court of India as per Article 148 of the Constitution. The Union Ministers who have questioned the objectivity of the CAG have actually insulted the Constitution.

The conspicuous absence of the Prime Minister continuously for three days when the monsoon session started abundantly proves his guilt. The Prime Minister should resign forthwith as he has now no moral or any other authority to be in power for a single moment after his indictment by the CAG, an independent and autonomous institution under the Constitution.

Janak Raj Jai,  
President,  
Delhi Group of Lawyers  
and Intellectuals  
New Delhi

**Punjab Prisoners**

I am writing to you to express my pleasure on learning of the release of many of the Sikh prisoners held in Punjab.

The Government should be congratulated on releasing those

prisoners against whom there were no specific criminal charges.

There are still a number of Sikhs imprisoned at Jullundur Jail, Punjab. The Government must ensure that these prisoners are tried under ordinary criminal procedures, and provided full legal safeguards as enshrined in Indian law and guaranteed by the international human rights standards to which India is a party.

As a member of the world-wide human rights organization, Amnesty International, I write in the spirit of international understanding and respect for human rights, which transcends all national, political and religious boundaries.

Ruth Brisbane

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**Religion And Region**

**T**he All India Muslim Majlis is quite right in pointing out that Mr. Shahabuddin is propagating the concept of "Hindu Rashtra" by using terms like "Muslim India" and "Muslim Indians". We must be careful to avoid that particular trap while fighting Mr Shahabuddin. His pretence to be giving a call in the name of secularism has not misled anyone.

What Mr. Shahabuddin is saying to his fellow Muslims is that their religion comes first and then their nationality. Those who thought so in the 1940's went away to Pakistan, an Islamic State, only to find on getting there that their regional identity was more important than their religion. Thus there were Bihari Muslims and Bengali Muslims in East Pakistan, not Muslim Biharis or Muslim Bengalis. Nor did the Bengali Muslims from East and Sindhi-Punjabi Muslims from West Pakistan feel one. Quite the reverse. Since the liberation of Bangladesh, it is the community seen as Bihari, which has been desperate for repatriation to Pakistan. They are not perceived as Muslim Biharis not even as Bihari Muslims but just as Biharis. The Biharis and UP Muslims in Karachi i.e. the Muhajirs, are equally seen in the light of their regional origin. They resent the domination of Punjabis, not Muslim Punjabis, leave alone Muslim Pakistanis.

The liberation of Bangladesh put

an end, once and for all, to the myth about religion being the uniting or cementing force. What we now have is the emergence of the Muslim majority part of the province of Bengal in British India as a separate, Islamic State, a solution Mr. Shahabuddin could not possibly be advocating for the rest of India.

The interesting part of the whole story is that Mr. Shahabuddin—an educated, well-read man, a fellow traveller in his student days, till recently a distinguished career diplomat, a veteran member of Parliament—cannot be said to be ignorant of these basic facts. One is intrigued all the more by his activities.

Yasudha Dhagamwar

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**Why Can't They Pray Side-by-Side**

**T**he Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi issue is a smouldering volcano which can erupt any day resulting in unprecedented bloodshed and destruction. The government seems surprisingly indifferent to the need to find an amicable solution to this problem.

During the life-time of the Prophet, the Christians of Nagran prayed side-by-side with the Muslims in the Nabi Masjid. A similar example is to be found from the time when the Muslims took over Damascus. They used one half of the famous Caucus Umoha (later Masjid Jamia) for their prayers and the Christians the other half for theirs. Why can Hindus and Muslims not pray side-by-side at Ayodhya?

Islam has always shown and propagated tolerance. The Prophet himself always cherished peace and brotherhood more than anything else. I appeal to my Muslim brothers to remember the Prophet's teachings and display restraint even in the face of the greatest provocation.

Calcutta, Faiz Ahmed Faizi

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**Sound And Fury**

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi represents big money in this country, both foreign and domestic. Our bicycle will combat his helicopter.  
—Mr. V.P. Singh.

Mr. V.P. Singh was a hero in various spheres of life, of Opposition unity, of the Indian people, of integrity in public life and in resigning office on moral grounds. He also had the looks of a hero.  
—Mr. Virendra Dixit, MLA, on why Mr. V.P. Singh rides a Hero bicycle.

I am a Congressman and I consider V.P. Singh a genuine Congressman.  
—Mr. Chimanbhai Mehta, M.P. who has been expelled from the Congress(I).

In the true sense of the word I was never a Congressman.  
—Rao Birendra Singh.

I have dropped a stone in a pond. If the fish in the pond are alive, the ripple will make them move away.  
—Mr. H.N. Manje Gowda.

It is good riddance.  
—Mr. Janardhan Poojary on Mr. Nanje Gowda's resignation.

There is not a Marxist country in the world today that is not deeply in debt to the capitalist world and pleading for the benefit of its skills.  
—Professor Michael Howard in *The Independent*.

A strong and efficient Parliament is shaping in the country.  
—Mr. Gorbachov.

Let me see what happens in the other House where in glaring contrast to their behaviour here, they (Opposition MPs) cling like limpets to their seats.  
—Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in the Lok Sabha.

I am amazed at the vocabulary of the Prime Minister.  
—Mr. M.S. Gurupadaswamy, Janata Dal M.P.

You had all better behave yourselves. Please remember that ours is a decorously conducted house, and is not the Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha.  
—Mr G.P. Tiwari, Rajasthan Assembly Speaker to MLAs.

Indian industrialists have more money of their own abroad than they have in India.  
—Mr Swraj Paul.

I would estimate it to total less than \$50 million. What is that after 22 years as head of state of such a big country?  
—President Mobutu of Zaire on his personal wealth.  
Of course the guy's corrupt, but so is every Gandhi! could follow non-violence for 20 years, why can't we be non-violent for one election?  
—Mr A.B.A. Ghani Khan Chowdhury.

The only genuine Khalistani who exists in the world is Rajiv Gandhi.  
—Mr. Ram Jethmalani.

One can only pity and sympathize with Rajiv Gandhi. Why abuse or find fault with a person who does not know what is doing?  
—Mr. Chandra Shekhar.

**NEWSHOUND**



**By Rap**







## The Unoccupied Chair

**S**ometimes symbols play an important part in political life. To take one example, when Gandhiji undertook the famous Dandi march, it was in order to manufacture salt in defiance of the law laid down by the British. Salt is something that everyone uses. Gandhiji, therefore, selected a symbol which everybody could understand. He was opposed to any duty levied on salt. The British, however, made it a prestige issue and did not agree to withdraw the duty. Gandhiji, therefore, decided to defy the law and accept the consequent punishment. The rest of it is history and one does not have to go into details.

This long introduction to the use of symbols in political life suggests that symbols, if chosen intelligently and projected in a skillful manner, can acquire great meaning. V.P. Singh has hit upon something which, if skillfully used can express much more than most people imagine it today.

As would be recalled, addressing his party youth, Rajiv Gandhi offered to debate the issue of Bofors with anyone on the television. V.P. Singh took up the challenge immediately. In his letter to Rajiv Gandhi, he suggested a format (a question to be put in one minute and a reply to be given within five minutes) which should be followed.

This unnerved Rajiv Gandhi. He got the organizers of that meeting to issue a contradiction. More than that, the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, H.K.L. Bhagat, came out with a clarification. The clarification was more an attempt to wriggle out of the commitment made by Rajiv Gandhi than a clarification. Everyone could draw his own conclusion and most people did. All said and done, this has become a question of Rajiv Gandhi's credibility.

It was in this context that V.P. Singh has taken another remarkable initiative. In a second letter to Rajiv Gandhi, he has said that if he had shied away from the debate on the television, he extended an invitation to him to come to any public meeting that he would address. At every such meeting, a chair would be placed on the dais along with that of the speaker of the day. In accordance with Rajiv Gandhi's status and dignity, the chair would be placed as prominently as that of the speaker. This gesture would be made at every single meeting that V.P. Singh would address. And if Rajiv Gandhi did not choose to come to the meeting the chair would remain, as is obvious, unoccupied.

This particular gesture of V.P. Singh is a master stroke of imagination. The unoccupied chair at every meeting addressed by V.P. Singh would be a standing reminder of the fact that the invitation to debate the issue of Bofors had not been accepted by Rajiv Gandhi.

If this is done at meeting after meeting and the chair remains unoccupied, the message would be clear. There is something to hide and that is why Rajiv Gandhi has not accepted the invitation. Sometimes, deeds speak more loudly than words. And this would be a signal example of it. There is also a danger involved here. If clumsily used, a gesture can become counter productive also. In other words, those whose job it is to keep their hand on the political pulse must remain sensitive to how people react. A symbol once conceived can acquire a potency of its own, provided it is handled skilfully. V.P. Singh has won the first round. Whether he wins the next few rounds or not remains to be seen. It would all depend upon his political finesse and skill.

## Elections In Punjab

# Terrorists, Policemen, Politicians

K.S. Khosla

**T**he various Akali Dal factions are caught in a cleft stick. They do not want to change the Akali Dal constitution and yet affirm their faith in the Constitution of India and the three principles of democracy, socialism and secularism as enshrined in the Indian constitution.

Curiously, all the three factions, Akali Dal(L), Akali Dal(T) and Akali Dal (Mann) adhere by the same Akali constitution passed by the general house of the then united Shoromani Akali Dal on September 2, 1974. Reports are current now that the party constitution was later amended in 1981 which met the requirement of the Election Commission for registration. But no Akali faction is making public the amended constitution. Some leaders say that only a draft to amend the constitution was discussed and as the Akali 'Dharam Yudh' (Battle for Justice) began in 1982, there was no time left for approval by the general house. The fact remains that no printed copy of the amended constitution is available to the public. Some Akali leaders even say that it is an afterthought to meet the requirements of Election Commission as the Akalis do not want to remain out of the election arena and, therefore, out of power.

One thing is common to all the three factions of the Akali Dal. They claim that they are the real Akali Dal and they all adhere by the constitution passed in 1974. This is understandable in view of the Akalis, assertion that for them politics and religion are inseparable. It needs to be repeated that the 1974 constitution sets forth five main objectives for the party of which the first two are most relevant to the present discussion. The first objective urges all Akalis to work for the propagation of Sikh religion and the second, for the maintenance of the separate independent panthic identity of the Sikhs and also for carving out a territory for themselves where their national aspirations can find full expression. This is where the rub is. Since religion has got more mixed with politics and the demand for separatism after the Blue Star operation, no Akali faction can afford to deny that these are not its objectives for fear of being thrown into political wilderness by the Sikh masses who are being battered by both the terrorists and the police. The present situation is that the Sikhs, particularly those living in the border districts, are not with the terrorists but

they are not with the police either. Their last weapon of protest is their religion which gives them hope of survival.

Under these circumstances, it is to be seen how the Akali factions reconcile their 'national aspirations' to carve out a separate territory for themselves with their secular, democratic and socialist credentials. It is not going to be easy, though Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala, leader of the Akali Dal (L), said in a recent interview that the other Akali factions were ill-informed as the Anandpur Sahib resolution passed at Ludhiana in 1978 clearly states that it derives its inspiration from the secular, democratic and socialist concepts of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh. All that his party would do was to incorporate the provisions of the Anandpur Sahib resolution in the Akali constitution to satisfy the requirements of the Election Commission. Here again there is ambivalence. Has Mr. Barnala, the architect of the Anandpur Sahib resolution passed in 1973, forgotten that when the Centre wanted an authentic copy of the resolution, the then Akali Dal under the leadership of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, sent an English translation of the resolution passed in 1973 and not the 500-word political resolution passed in 1978. That created the whole problem. Had they sent the 1978 resolution, the political climate in Punjab today would have been different. The AS resolution passed in 1973 gives rise to several doubts as it sets out the same objectives for the Akalis and the Sikhs as incorporated later in the party constitution in 1974. Mr. Barnala had it known long before that his party would make a formal application for registration with the Election Commission.

The Akali Dal(T) has also now come round to registering itself with the Election Commission. It has constituted a five-man committee to complete all the formalities connected with registration. A party spokesman, however, said that they would make no change in the party constitution. What documents this faction would submit to affirm its faith in secularism, democracy and socialism remains to be seen.

The Akali Dal(Mann) has also made it clear that it would not change its constitution. A spokesman of the party clarified, if it was not registered by the Election Commission, they would fight the Lok Sabha elections as independents.

Meanwhile, the Election Commission has refused to recognise the factions headed by Mr. Jagdev

Singh Talwandi and Simranjit Mann, former police officer, now under detention. The Commission in separate communications to them has said that so far as it was concerned, the Akali Dal headed by Mr. Barnala was the only Akali Dal functioning in Punjab. Mr. Barnala has said that in view of the Commission's clarification, the other factions would now have to unite with his party to qualify for contesting elections. But the matter is not so simple as made out by Mr. Barnala. The Akali Dal recognised by the Commission was united. That Akali Dal split into two after Mr. Barnala as Chief Minister ordered police to raid the Golden Temple in April 1986. The Badal group broke away from Mr. Barnala which is now headed by Mr. Talwandi. Then another group emerged on the scene under the leadership of Baba Joginder Singh, father of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale. This faction recognises Mr. Mann as its president.

It seems that the Mann group may also file an application for registration with the Election Commission because its general secretary, Mr. Gurtej Singh, a former I.A.S. officer, contends that what the Commission has to ascertain is who is the real leader of the Akalis who commands majority support. A United Akali Dal was formed under the direction of the Akal Takht jathedar, Prof. Darshan Singh, and Mr. Mann was chosen its leader. Mr. Gurtej Singh asserts that both Mr. Talwandi and Mr. Barnala had accepted Mr. Mann as their leader.

The Election Commission is going to find itself in a tricky situation if all the Akali factions make application for registration appending the same constitution with amendments couched in different language. The Commission will have to call for their constitutions, rules and regulations under which they have been functioning. It may also call for their organisational set-ups in view of the claims and counter-claims about having the support of majority of Akali M.L.A.s, M.P.s and district jathedars. The Akali factions will have to fill a proforma giving all this information.

It is not known what decision the Election Commission will take. But one thing is certain that if the Mann group is not recognised as an Akali party, its nominees will fight as independents. In view of the present psyche of the Sikhs in Punjab, wounded both by the terrorists and the police, the Mann group candidates can give sleepless nights to the nominees of the other two factions.



## Riberio On Rajiv

Continued from page 1

preference for the attitudes and policies of Chaman Lal who was made to quit. While there may be something personal in this preference, the more pertinent thing is that he has rejected the Centre's policy of repression without a simultaneous attempt to win the hearts of those whose support is indispensable if terrorism is to be stamped out.

Having said this however, it is important to go into the question of how and why Riberio came to change his opinion. As would be recalled, he started his career in Punjab with the oft-quoted statement, "bullet for bullet". He contends that he was quoted out of context. Even if that be so, there can be no doubt that when he came to Punjab as Inspector General, the police force was thoroughly demoralised. He can legitimately claim that he gave it a sense of purpose and direction. Being a thorough professional, he tried to impart the same spirit to his men. Before the Barnala Government had been dismissed, there was a certain amount of friction between him and the chief minister on a number of issues. Once the government was removed, Riberio was his own master; he took decisions without having to explain them to anyone.

For several months, he continued to be a high profile police officer. Whatever he said was lapped up and his policy of going after the terrorists in a determined way was hailed in the rest of the country. One magazine went so far as to declare him in 1987 as "the man of the year."

It should not be necessary to go into further details of the various ups and downs of his tenure in Punjab. One thing is clear however; the Operation Blackthunder in May, 1988, proved to be a turning point in more than one sense. It became clear to him in that context that it was possible to isolate the terrorists provided the Sikh community had the same perception as the government had. In those tempestuous days, a miraculous thing came to pass. The blockade of the Golden Temple passed muster even though important sections of the leadership maintained that the sanctity of the temple had been violated.

Would it be too wild a guess to make that particular event unfroze the mould in which the mind of Riberio, the policeman, was set? For the first time, he discovered that while law and order was the objective to achieve, the process could not be delinked from the operation of social and political forces which, strictly speaking, gave birth to the situation that he, as a policeman, was required to handle.

Put another way, for over a year now, Riberio has been a square peg in a round hole. As far as the Centre was concerned it has not learnt the right lessons. It has continued to follow the same

mindless policy of repression which had been initiated years earlier and had manifested itself in June, 1984, as well as in November, 1984. To put it crudely, this policy displayed only the ugly face of the state. A modern state has agencies and forces at its command which, if unleashed, can produce deadly results. This is precisely what has been happening for several years. And as far as one can judge there is no pause or deflection or reversal of these policies.

While there are so many things that can be objected in the Centre's approach to the Punjab problem, three of them may be referred to here. What is called the psyche of the partition is still with us. In this situation, was it advisable to awaken the ghost of Khalistan? It may have been in the interest of the ruling party but it was certainly not in the interest of the country. Evidently the interest of the country was ignored because an election had to be won. Won it was no doubt; but at what cost?

Secondly, the ethnic dimension of the problem was overlooked altogether. What we are living through currently is a cycle of revenge and counter revenge. What the Centre did in June 1984 led to subsequent developments and there is no knowing how long all this will continue.

Thirdly, the Centre covered itself with utter disgrace when it violated the norms of civil liberties to the extent that it did. One does not have to produce any evidence to substantiate this statement. Unless one has a closed mind, the whole thing is written large on the face of the state. It is this brazen violation of civil liberties and brutal repression which wins ever new adherents to the cause of the terrorists. A number of them are killed and as many, if not more, are added to their ranks.

It is to the credit of Riberio that he has understood the dynamics of this process. That is why he has taken the stand that he has. It could not have been easy for him to do so. Being a professional policeman and having handled such a politically sensitive job that he did, it must have taken him an extraordinary amount of soul searching to have used the words that he had used. But evidently he had no choice. He either had to speak out or remain silent with the load of dishonesty ineradicably seared on his mind.

The real merit of Riberio's considered expression of views lies in this that here is a man who is willing to learn from experience. When we contrast this with the attitude of his bosses, we see the appalling situation in which the country finds itself. The bosses are not willing to learn from experience. Some people say that they are unable to learn. If that be so, we are in a much worse situation. The needle of suspicion points inexorably in that unflattering direction.

## Solidarity Convention On Baliapal People's Struggle

By Our Correspondent

A convention organized by Baliapal Solidarity Committee, PUDR, PUCL, AIFOPDR, PRO, PEG, Lokayan, Saheli, Nishant, Pratidhwani and others at New Delhi on 19 August called upon the democratic forces to show solidarity with the people of Baliapal and Bhograi and ask the government to respect the basic human rights of the people of this area and fulfil their demands.

For more than four years the people of Baliapal and Bhograi block of Orissa's Balasore district are carrying on a mass agitation to fight against the Government's decision to site the national test range in their region. This project involves testing of small, medium and intermediate missiles and possibly Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles. This defence project would displace at least 50,000 people in an area of 102 sq. km. In Orissa's otherwise backward economy, this area is famous for its flourishing betel vines and fishing besides cashewnuts, coconuts and sugarcane and, of course, paddy. This agitation has been able to mobilize people of all classes and castes and both men and women of all ages under the leadership of Uttara Balasore Khepanastra Ghati Pratirodh Samiti. It is supported by members of both the ruling and opposition parties: Congress(I), Janata Dal, CPI, CPI(M), UCCRI(M-L) and SUCI.

Resisting the Government's efforts to displace the people of the area, set up blocks on all approach roads in April, 1986, and has since then prevented the entry of all government vehicles. Human blocks consisting of thousands of men and women have been ever ready to thwart any effort to enter. This peaceful movement has effectively prevented the government administration from functioning in the area for more than three and a half years. The local people have managed the affairs of the area.

The agitation has squarely put several important questions. Should development always lead to displacement? Must development destroy the national environment? Is militarization inevitable? Should projects be imposed on people of an area without consulting them? What should be the approach towards backward regions of the country? Indeed the Baliapal agitation has questioned the entire development strategy of India. Despite the repressive measures of the Orissa Government through its Operation Baliapal, the movement has asserted people's right to their soil. Against the vicious propaganda of the government the people's struggle has gone on vigorously refusing to accept the government's promise of compensation. The people argue that there cannot be any compensation for their naturally prosperous habitat. The successful launch of Agni in the neighbouring Chandipur area shows the government's determination to go ahead with the Baliapal project disregarding the voice of the people.

## NEW INITIATIVES NEW STRENGTH



- Extended Green Revolution brings more than threefold increase in food production
- All-round Rural Development
- Jawahar Rozgar Yojana : Job at least to one member of each rural family below the poverty line
- Buoyant Industry : Nine per cent annual growth, higher exports
- Better health care for all - Emphasis on mother and child health
- New Deal for Women under National Perspective Plan
- Better educational opportunities for rural students
- Technology Missions initiated Science to effectively help the poor
- Package of measures to restore normalcy in Punjab
- Democracy at the grassroots revived - Rejuvenation of Panchayati Raj

**Nation  
on the  
Move**

**FREEDOM - STABILITY - PROGRESS**

clavp 89/336



# Reserved For Exploitation

By Bharat Dogra

**T**he 28th Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes submitted recently is an important document because it goes beyond routine review and information to draw pointed and urgent attention to the wider and deeper crisis through which the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, specially the latter, are passing. The Report is remarkable for the wide reach of some of its recommendations. Lastly, this Report does not ignore the wider problems of inequity and injustice within which the plight of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes has to be seen.

The issue of job-reservations is generally the most widely discussed one among the various means of improving the condition of SCs/STs, but this Report puts the matter in the correct perspective when it observes, "These achievements, even though significant, tend to get blown out of proportion while the reverses which the vast majority are experiencing with greater severity on account of their vulnerability remain out of focus."

A letter from the Commissioner Dr. B.D. Sharma, who has observed and studied the problems of tribals closely in several parts of the country, written to the President (and which was sent along with this report) points out a basic reason for the failure of official policy to improve significantly the condition of SCs/STs.

"The main reason is that what was supposed to be supplemental by way of special provisions in the constitution has been construed as substantive and came into focus at all levels to the neglect of those basic provisions on whose foundation a meaningful structure was supposed to be built."

The report's most important contribution lies in drawing concerted attention to the present crisis of tribal communities, and to the failure of what today pass as much-publicised tribal welfare measures. Without mincing any words the letter to the President says clearly.

"There is simmering discontent in almost the entire middle Indian tribal belt, particularly on the issues of land and forest. In some cases a state of near confrontation has been created between the people and the state which is marked by intermittent eruption of violence."

Further this letter gives reasons which have led to this state of confrontation. "The tribal people are continuously losing command over their resources on almost all counts - pressure from more advanced people, clamis of the State in utter disregard of their traditional rights and virtual forced

displacement in favour of a variety of development projects, big and small."

The Commissioner says in his letter to the President that the issue of command over resources is particularly vital for the tribal people and is central to the constitutional safeguards. Therefore, he has taken a detailed investigation into this matter and shall be submitting a special report shortly.

But the extent to which the loss of resources has already proceeded is also indicated in the present report in the following words.

The Report gives some examples of callousness and heartlessness in dealing with the question of eviction and so-called resettlement. Two examples are given below "when the Forest Department of Karnataka decided to evict the Soligas, a primitive tribal group, from their dispersed habitations in the sprawling forest of B.R. Hills where they had been living from time immemorial, a tusker was used to pull down their huts at the scared puny people looked askance." During a night of torrential rain in the monsoon season, on the outskirts of Shaktinagar, in Mirzapur District (Uttar Pradesh) the administration backed by the PAC, was warning the people to move out to a new site where some makeshift sheds were put up for them to be huddled in.

Some initiatives of the government regarding forests—such as the legislation to protect forests or to govern the collection of minor forest produce (M.F.P.)—are generally regarded as beneficial for forest-dwellers, but what is the grass-roots reality of the actual implementation?

This report asserts "The enforcement of the Forest Conservation Act, 1980, even as all the above issues in the tribal areas were still raging, has created an unenviable situation. The tribal is deemed to be trespasser and sought to be evicted summarily without even listening to what he has to say."

Regarding minor forest produce, the Report says, "Even the right of the tribal people to collect the M.F.P., which was duly recognised at the time of reservation of forests, has not been honoured in its true spirit. With the passage of time what was conceded as a right became a concession, and now we are at a stage where even these concessions are not easily conceded and are being virtually treated as unnecessary encumbrances."

Several special programmes meant for the welfare of scheduled castes and tribes, specially the latter, have been very widely publicised, but the Commissioner's Report exposes some glaring distortions of these programmes. For example expenditure of several

programmes for infrastructure development, including those whose adverse side-effects are causing misery to tribals, is included in these programmes.

Further, printing out a serious distortion the Commissioner says, "In sum, bulk of the Special Central Assistance both for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes during the Sixth Plan period has not been used to supplement the States' efforts for the welfare and advancement of these communities. It has been used in such a way as to reduce the States' own commitment for the development of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes."

The Report also shows how educational achievements for SCs/STs have been greatly exaggerated by faulty statistics.

Moreover within SCs/STs a big share of the benefits have gone to some selected communities while several others have lagged behind badly. In the words of the Report, "The representation in the recruitment to the All India Services is highly skewed. A few communities are accounting for bulk of these positions year after year while the bulk of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, particularly the latter, who are educationally backward cannot claim even a handful, some of them have yet to start the score."

Several struggles to improve the conditions of SCs/STs face the repression of the administration. The Commissioner in this context reminds the government, "What even some of the most radical groups in concrete terms often contend is mere enforcement of the state laws and implementation of welfare measures formulated by the Government themselves."

The report raises important, and disturbing, questions about how the in-built inequality in many of our present day policies can co-exist with our pious statements regarding the welfare of SCs/STs. It says after referring to the unrest in parts of Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. "These developments are

also bringing to the fore a basic question as to whether a system which is allowing, if not encouraging, growth of necessary support for equity in one segment in isolation. The question becomes particularly pertinent in a context where those responsible for policy formulation and implementation of the desired progressive measures are themselves copartners in the gains of inequitous growth."

Finally, the Report calls upon the nation to consider whether growth of the national economy can be sustained on such a fragile foundation which is becoming increasingly brittle as its social and economic fabric is being subjected to severe strain ostensibly in the name of development but really benefiting a small section.

Several recommendations made by the Report also need to be quoted here in view of their significance and wide reach. For example, one recommendation says, "A Central law may be enacted prohibiting use of force in civil matters particularly in those cases where the concerned persons or the majority of persons in the concerned party belong to the Scheduled Castes or Tribes. In the meantime the Central Government may issue instructions that in all those cases in which the administration may have a reasonable doubt that force may have to be used or where the administration may be contemplating to act under the shadow of force without intending to use it, the concerned officer shall prepare a detailed report at least a week in advance and forward the same to an authority designated by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes giving full facts and the reasons for requisitioning of force and the likely reaction of the people. Any use of force in such matters without due information to the designated authority as indicated above should make the officer liable for penal action."

Another recommendation also seeks to protect SCs/STs against detention and harassment.

Concerning all those cases in which:-

1) There are allegations about (a) harassment (b) abuse of the process of law and (c) action involving violation of law by Government servants against members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

2) Members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may be in police custody and in judicial custody before trial.

"The District Magistrate should review these cases every month and forward a report to the State Government level. Similar review should also be undertaken at the State level by the Chief Secretary at the official level and by the Cabinet at the political level. A report of this review should be forwarded to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

Regarding displacement a recommendation says, "Pending the investigation into the Constitutional safeguards relating to the command over and access to resource of the tribal people and their displacement and consideration by the Government of their findings towards arriving at a national consensus and policy framed, all ongoing projects and also those pending consideration with the Government at different levels may be reviewed and it may be ensured that safeguards provided for the tribal people in the constitution are honoured in their level spirit and that their side does not remain unconsidered simply because they did not have the opportunity or the necessary articulation for presenting the same or because of the incongruity of the law itself concerning their rights."

On the issue of minor forest produce this report recommends categorically, "The State has no right to royalty on a produce over which the tribal people had been given a right even though the circumstances may have changed and the produce may have become more valuable because of its diverse use and the extension market economy in tribal areas."

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# Meeting Energy Demands

**B**y the turn of the century, the country will be needing about 300,000 million units of electricity, about 420 million tonnes of coal, and petroleum products which may simply be unlimited. These are in fact, very conservative estimates. Whether the country will be in a position to meet these demands is the question that should worry us. A look at the present scenario and the policies and plans of the Government provides no scope for any pessimism, though. As a matter of fact the country is in a position to meet these challenges with confidence.

The energy policy of the Government which aims at ensuring adequate energy supplies at minimum cost and achieving self-sufficiency in energy also aims at protecting the environment from the adverse impact of over-utilization of energy resources. Accelerated exploitation of domestic conventional sources of energy like coal, hydel, oil and nuclear power intensification of exploration for oil and gas, management of energy demands, conservation, optimum utilization, development and exploitation of renewable sources of energy and intensification of research and development activities are the core aspects of the policy.

## Electricity

**T**he installed capacity for electricity in India at the time of independence was a bare 1300 MW. It now stands at nearly 59,000 MW and in the next five years it is likely to rise over 1,03,900 MW. All the available sources of electric power are being tapped to produce electric power for the farm and the factory. Giant hydro-electric projects, thermal power plants and atomic power plants contribute to the national electricity grid. Nine super thermal power projects, at Singrauli (UP), Korba (MP), Ramagundam (AP), Farakka (West Bengal), Vindhyachal (MP), Rihand (UP), Kahalgaon (Bihar), the National Thermal Plant (UP) and the Talcher Thermal Power Plant (Orissa) have a total capacity of nearly 13,000 MW. Power from some of these has already started flowing in. Hydro-electric projects are also being built at various potential areas, but these are undertaken only after considering the ecological implication. An integral part of the electrification programme is to provide power to the villages so as to help them modernise their lifestyles. Nearly 420,000 villages out of 576,000 have already been provided with electricity and the number will rise to 487,000 next year.

## Atomic Energy

India realised the need to harness nuclear energy immediately after independence to supplement thermal and hydro-electric power. However, it has always been made clear that India's

atomic energy programme is for peaceful purposes only.

India's nuclear energy programme envisages generation of electricity and application of nuclear science in agriculture, industry, medicine and other areas of development. There are at present four nuclear power stations. These are: Tarapur Atomic Power station near Bombay, Rajasthan Atomic Power Station near Kota, Madras Atomic Power Station at Kalpakkam and Narora Atomic Power Station in Uttar Pradesh. Two more nuclear power stations, one at Kakrapar (Gujarat) and other at Kaiga in Karnataka are nearing completion. The Nuclear Power Corporation has fixed a target of generating 10,000 MW of nuclear power by 2000 AD, which will constitute 10 per cent of total power generation. At the present the nuclear plants generate a little over 1250 MW.

The Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Bombay, The Indira Gandhi Research Centre at Kalpakkam, near Madras, the Variable Energy Cyclotron Centre in Calcutta, the High Altitude Research Laboratory in Gulmarg (Kashmir) and the Seismic Station at Gauribidanur in Karnataka are the important Atomic Energy research centres in the country.

The Thal Heavy Water Plant in Maharashtra is the latest addition to the five heavy water plants already in operation. They are located at Nangal in Punjab, Baroda in Gujarat, Kota in Rajasthan, Tuticorin in Tamil Nadu and Talcher in Orissa. The Heavy Water in Manuguru near Kota, and the Hajera Water Project are also nearing completion.

## Non-Conventional Energy Sources

India took up the challenge of harnessing non-conventional energy in right earnest and today a large number of Government departments, public sector undertakings, autonomous bodies, private institutions and individuals have adopted systems and devices such as water heating systems, windmills, photovoltaic lights and pumps, improved chulhas solar cookers and bio-gas plants. Various non-conventional sources of energy have the potential of generating energy equivalent to the energy that could be generated by 250 million tonnes of coal.

It is estimated that 20 per cent of the total energy demand will be met by non-conventional energy sources by 2001 AD.

The most important component of renewable sources of energy is the use of bio-gas. Firewood was the main form of fuel for thousands of years which resulted in a continuous drain on forest resources.

By the turn of the century, the country will be needing about 300,000 million units of electricity, about 420 million tonnes of coal, and petroleum produce which may simply be unlimited. Is our country in a position to meet this challenge?

The emphasis in the last few years has been on introducing bio-gas plants so that the droppings of animals can be utilized as fuel for cooking. The residue can still be used as manure. During the last three years nearly a million bio-gas plants have been installed. According to an estimate, firewood worth Rs. 1485 million is saved every year by these plants and they also produce organic manure valued at Rs. 1182 million. Research is going on to improve these plants and to develop new models. People are being trained and more and more plants are being introduced.

There is increasing use of solar energy in homes and in industry. These have helped to save alternate energy to the extent of 35 million KW energy year. In the area of solar photo voltaics, the technology for the manufacture of solar

cells and modules has been developed in the country. 7123 solar stills, about 96,000 solar cookers, setting up of about 10,880 street-lighting systems in villages using solar photovoltaic technology and a few experimental solar power plants are the highlights. Development of amorphous silicon solar cell technology has been taken up as one of the technology missions and a pilot plant to produce amorphous photovoltaic modules is under construction.

More than two thousand wind pumps and six wind power generation stations of aggregate capacity of a 6 MW have been set up so far. Five windfarms of total capacity of 3.63 MW were installed in the coastal areas of Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Orissa.

'Urja Grams' are the most significant demonstrations of the programme of utilization of non-conventional energy sources. Urja Grams are villages where the entire energy requirements are met by locally available renewable sources of energy—many such villages are there today which hold out the promise of an energy-rich future for the country.

## "Traitors In Parliament"

Continued from page 1

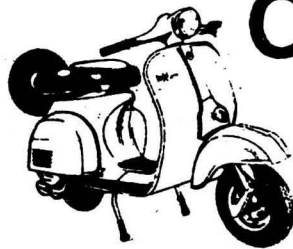
tax-paying people. Denying the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr N.T. Rama Rao, a chance to broadcast his August 15 address

to the people, as it contained a mention of corruption in defence deals, is more unpatriotic at the occasion of the nation's 43rd anniversary of Independence than

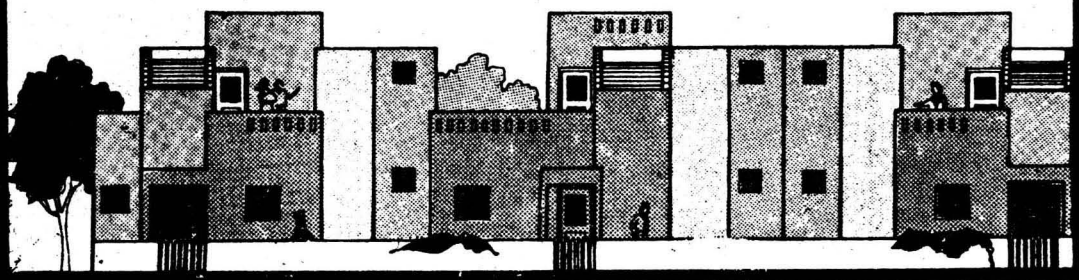
Mr H.K.L. Bhagat's denunciation of the Opposition at the meeting to commemorate Quit India Day only a fortnight ago.

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# For Another IMF Loan?

By Bharat Dogra

**T**wo aspects of India's foreign debt have increasingly engaged the attention of India's economists. One is the exact size of India's debt and the second is the likelihood of India seeking a big IMF loan once again, (India's earlier Rs.5000 crores loan from the IMF, later reduced by about one fifth, was called the biggest ever lending of its kind at that time).

Estimates of the size of India's foreign debts range from Rs.55000 crores, which is the official estimate given in the latest pre-budget Economic Survey, to Rs.96000 crores, a figure given in two reports prepared by the Washington based Institute of International Finance and New York based Manufacturers Hanover, a top U.S. bank. The latter estimate published in a section of the Indian press recently has not come entirely as a surprise as several prominent Indian economists had earlier pointed out that the officially given figure was a gross underestimate. Dr. Ashok Mitra had estimated, on the basis of OECD data, that India's foreign debt is likely to be around Rs.90000 crores, Vivek Bharti, a columnist for the *Economic Times*, had pointed out that India is close to becoming Asia's biggest debtor with its medium and long-term external debt running at about Rs.76000 crores.

What is more, increasingly a bigger share of India's foreign debt now comes from high interest commercial loans, replacing concessional loans.

Whether this situation will force India to go to the IMF for another big loan is also being widely discussed. One view which has acquired wide credibility is that India will go to the IMF but not in this election year, as the conditionalities attached to the IMF loan have never proved popular with the people of the borrowing country.

However, from the point of view of those who are interested not in the narrow electoral considerations but in the long-term welfare of people, it is not important whether economic policies likely to be harmful to common people are adopted one year late or one year early. From their point of view what is important is that the reasons due to which such policies have to be imposed are avoided at all times.

It has been seen in many Third World countries that during the years when policies likely to build up a big foreign debt are being adopted and pushed ahead, there is not much of an opposition to these policies. However, when later on as a result of these policies the country is driven to accept-

ing conditions (from the international financial establishment presided over by the IMF) which are not only humiliating for its sovereignty but also inflict heavy costs on its people, specially the weaker sections, then there are mass protests and agitations. How one wishes that this public concern was voiced at an earlier stage so that the build-up of the foreign debt caused by wrong policies could itself have been avoided.

When governments faced with mounting debts and severe balance of payments crises approach the International Monetary Fund for a loan to bail them out of the immediate crises, the IMF insists on a set of policy prescriptions commonly referred to as IMF conditionalities which have become increasingly controversial in recent years.

On paper, a government faced with a balance of payments crisis can try to resolve this by adopting some or all of the following policies in various degrees—exchange controls, devaluation or related steps, import restrictions including tariffs, deflationary monetary and fiscal policies. Of these, import restrictions are generally expected to play an important role in solving balance of payments problems. As a part of its conditionality, however, the IMF almost never insists on import restrictions. Instead the stress is on exactly the opposite, on import liberalisation. Briefly, in a typical IMF stabilization programme, abolition or liberalisation of foreign exchange and import controls is combined with devaluation of the exchange rate in some form (in recent times the more disguised form of devaluation may be preferred to the politically embarrassing one-shot devaluation), greater hospitality to foreign investment and a domestic anti-inflationary programme. The latter includes control of bank credit and control on government deficit through control on government spending and increases in taxes and in prices charged by public enterprises. Abolition or deduction of consumer subsidies and control of wage increase, to the extent possible, are also included in the austerity programme.

Indiscriminate and large scale imports due to the policy of import liberalization result in setbacks to several domestic industries, leading to closure of some of them and cut-backs in production in others.

This leads to unemployment among industrial workers and indirectly affects rural families that depend on their remittances. Cut-backs in government credit also adversely affect several industries directly or by adversely affecting their sales so that employment opportunities decline in these industries as well. Depressing

conditions in a few big industries adversely affect the ancillaries and

The country's accumulating debt burden and worsening balance of payments crises is ultimately likely to drive the government to a tight spot from where it will be driven to adopting increasingly anti-people and repressive measures

other supporting industries, and often the bigger industries post-

pone payments to the smaller industries or farmers. As the government's development programmes are pruned down in keeping with the condition of curbing government spending, employment opportunities further decline.

While unemployment rises, subsidies given to food, clothing and public transport are frequently curtailed. The incidence of indirect taxation is increased, so that the prices of several essential goods increase further. The benefits of anti-inflationary measures do not generally reach the poor. The wholesale price changes do not necessarily get reflected at the retail level due to several factors. More and more attention is given to production for exports, and the task of producing necessities at cheap rates for the local consumers is subordinated to the objective of stepping up exports. In particular, farm exports are boosted while not enough food is being grown for the home market.

Government expenditure on welfare activities including health,

education, rural employment and anti-poverty programmes, is likely to be cut down, as expenditure on these is relatively easy to cut compared to the on-going infrastructure expenses, wage-restrictions are likely to be clamped, or restrictive labour legislation may be introduced which makes it more difficult for the unions to negotiate wage hikes.

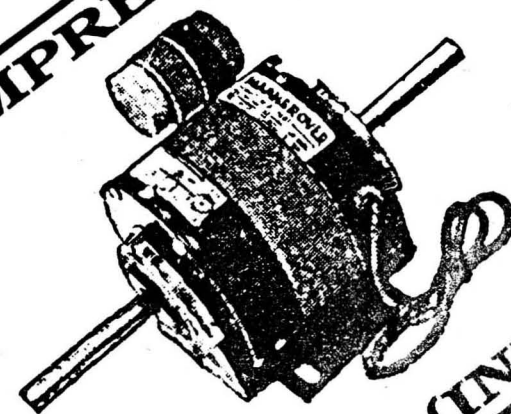
Policies such as these may be politically difficult to implement and evoke mass protests, bringing forth more and more restrictions on democratic forms of protests.

Thus the country's accumulating debt burden and worsening balance of payments crises is ultimately likely to drive the government to a tight spot from where it will be driven to adopting increasingly anti-people and repressive measures. This link between the international trade and payments position and domestic policies should be realised and give due consideration by all those committed to the values of democracy and socialism in India.

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# Punjab: Politics

By A.S. Narang

**P**unjab continues to be in news. On the one hand killings continue unabated and on the other spokesmen of the ruling party, including the prime-minister, in view of coming general elections, have once again started blowing up the Punjab situation, particularly Akali Dal's Anandpur Sahib resolution, out of proportion, as a threat to nation's unity. One way or the other Punjab remains a major issue and a point of debate all over the country.

Of course, one cannot deny that situation in Punjab is indeed grave. Passions have overcome reason and self-appointed spokesmen of various communities are blaming each other for the present state of affairs. Violence must be condemned and normalcy must be restored. But the mere wish is not enough. What is needed is a proper appreciation of the factors that have made the transition from a largely peaceful to mainly violent political struggle.

Various theories and analysis have been put forward to understand the present turbulent situation. If one reviews the literature on Punjab, it is readily apparent that there are numerous factors: historical, socio-cultural, economic, political, the self image of the Sikhs moulded by these and the framework of political institutional arrangements within which the Sikhs as a political community have to operate—that have interacted to produce the present crisis.

However, one thing is quite clear. That is rise of fundamentalism in Punjab is not an isolated process. It is a part of the current resurgence of fundamentalism which to a great extent can be said to have begun with Meenakshipuram mass conversion in 1981 of a large number of Harijans to Islam. It is at this time that there emerged the Vishwa Hindu Parishad as a major revivalist organization which launched an aggressive campaign for Hindu unity.

Also from 1980 onwards, several major communal riots took place in U.P., Bihar, M.P., Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Assam and Gujrat. Almost simultaneously in Punjab Sant Bhindranwale unveiled a version of Sikh fundamentalism, and after Shah Bano case we see the acceleration of Muslim fundamentalism.

What is important is that all these fundamentalist platforms have yielded political returns. If this fact is viewed in relation to overall political process in India one can easily conclude that fundamental-

ism is a political phenomenon. Its genesis is in politics not in religion. However, it draws its sustenance from religion. While it germinates in politics, it is watered by religious sectarianism and it flowers in an environment of uneven growth.

The present crisis in Punjab, in this context, is rooted in the Akali quest for power, growing into a desire for securing power, and culminating in a demand for more and secure power in Punjab on the one hand, and the Congress's hesitation to accommodate the Akalis, growing into determination to defeat them and culminating in a no holds-barred bid to liquidate them as a power in Punjab, in the overall context of struggle for power in the Indian Polity.

It is well known that in a backward society under the strong influence of religion, democratic consciousness does not necessarily assume a secular political form. In other words, it does not straight away result in class formation. On the contrary, it after assumes the form of sectarian consciousness, thus resulting in increasing caste and communal polarization. This polarization keeps feeding on just economic grievances on the one hand, and threaten privileges of the caste or communal elite, on the other.

Seen in this background right from the inception of the constitution of India in 1950 the strategy of the Akalis was simple. Speak in the name of the Sikhs as a people, revile the system but come to terms after bargaining; keep control of the gurdwaras in hand and hold the Sikh masses agitated and combined, at the beck and call of the party. The ethic of this strategy but for communal component—was no better or worse than the strategies of other political actors jockeying for power in different states of the union.

An important element to it was added by the reorganization of Punjab in 1966. It would not be out of place to mention here that the decision to reorganize Punjab on linguistic basis came two decades after 1947. Those two decades had witnessed jockeying for power between Hindus and Sikhs and were marked both by acrimony and political horse trading. Eventually when the decision to reorganize Punjab was taken all outstanding issues were neither clearly identified nor properly resolved. Some of the issues, for instance, the territorial disputes as also the dispute about water between Punjab and Haryana arose as a result of the reorganization of 1966. Had the reorganization been planned properly and executed systematically the results would have been different.

The logic of the reorganization also implied conceding political

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power to the Akalis who had led the struggle for it. But the variety of stratagems adopted by the ruling party (accentuated by persistent infighting among the Akalis) led to a situation where except for brief spells the Akalis were not able to exercise power in the state.

On the other hand for about two decades after independence, the Congress had greatly succeeded in its aims of minimising the differences in the interest of different sections of society and of creating broad political consensus. But subsequently, the lopsided economic development created strains and tensions in the Indian society, and inter-regional, inter-group and inter-class antagonisms surfaced. Consensus was hard to achieve. This failure was reflected in the erosion of the support base of the Congress and its subsequent ouster from power. And above all, it was reflected in the political instability, imposition of emergency and concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals to ensure stability.

It is no wonder that, the crisis generating system remaining intact, the Janata Party also not only failed to create a broad political consensus or provide stability but also itself collapsed under the weight of unresolved social conflicts. In 1980 the unenthusiastic way in which the people returned the congress to power, showed that they voted for the party more to fill a political void than in the hope that it would usher in social harmony lasting political stability and economic progress.

Earlier the Akali Dal in Punjab having learnt limitations of common support in democratic elections had started shedding a part of its communal character. In 1977 having alliance with Janata Party and getting a share in power even at central level encouraged it in this direction further. Same was true with erstwhile Jan Sangh which was now a part of the Janata Party.

The de-communalization of the communal parties as well as their coming together in an alliance heralded a threat to the Congress which had already lost all the parliamentary seats in 1977 elections. It now started a policy of creating communal cleavages. During the June, 1977 assembly elections, the Akali Dal-Janata Combine conducted their campaign on Political issues such as the emergency excesses, preservation of democracy, freedom of press, and judiciary and discrimination against Punjab in the distribution of water and of power. On the contrary, the Congress raised communal issues. In the Assembly elections, the Congress was able to erode the Akali Dal-Janata base to a certain extent, partly by arousing

communal sentiments and partly by posing itself as a champion of the Harijans and the poor. The inherent ideological political shortcomings of the Akali-Janata alliance were also responsible for this erosion.

Encouraged by the Assembly election results, the Congress began to counter the Akali Dal which claims itself to be coterminous with the Sikh community and is strongly anchored in the Sikh religious ethos represented by the SGPC. To begin with, the Congress used certain factional con-

After 1984 Parliamentary as if it changed situation July Longwal Accord was a But this euphoria too power politics too



decisions began to be taken expediency to win elections the Accord was not democratically elected was dismissed on the election

conflicts among some seats and the Akali role in them.

One such seat that came handy to the Congress to embarrass the Akali Dal was Damdami Taksal headed by Sant Gurbachan Singh and later by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.

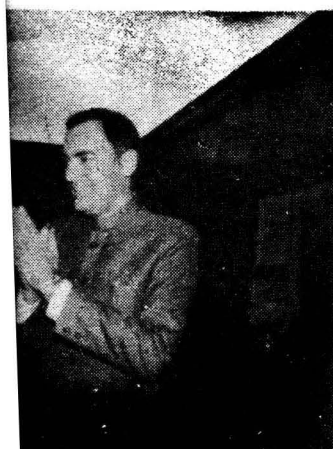
Thus, caught in a cleft-stick and facing a two-pronged attack, the Akali Dal had to evolve new strategies. Its primary aims were to keep its mass support intact, and keeping in view the politico-economic needs of Sikhs and the



# of Manipulation

Sikh character unite the various factions. The moderates were hamstrung by prevailing style of politics. They felt that the government policy of drift and stalemate, instead of strengthening their hands to keep extremists in check, was a deliberate device to give extremism a chance to grow and create insecurity among the population particularly, the non-Sikh, and that, by projecting the Akalis as fundamentalists, the government was trying to win over the Hindus and the non-Jat Sikhs, particularly the scheduled castes.

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measures and centralization of  
power. Quite often it led to a poli-  
tics of manipulation rather than  
purpose. Consequently, within two  
years after her triumph return, she  
was confronting disarray in her  
own party, corruption and ineffici-  
ency in state governments, and  
increasing violence in the urban  
and the rural areas.

With the beginning of 1983 the  
situation underwent a qualitative  
change, and this is said with refer-  
ence to the second source of her  
anxiety-evolving a new electoral  
strategy. The Congress(I) had lost  
elections in the southern states of  
Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh  
to the Janata Party and the  
Telgu Dessam respectively. Ero-  
sion in its influence was evident in  
other parts of the country, too.  
Obviously, these developments  
alarmed Mrs. Gandhi and raised  
doubts about her political future.  
She could not afford to be com-  
placent any longer. Though the  
general elections were more than  
two years away, she had to  
develop a new political strategy.

The Hindi-speaking areas of the  
country were the hope of Mrs.  
Gandhi and her party. But, in this  
region, too, the position of the  
party was far from satisfactory. So  
Mrs. Gandhi was in search of an  
issue which could swing the tide  
in her favour.

Mrs. Gandhi tried several ideas  
and strategies to ensure her con-  
tinuance in power. One option  
open to her was to arouse the  
nationalist sentiment of people. If  
in 1971 the slogan could be "*garibi  
hatao*", this time it could be "*desh  
bachao*". To harness the nation-  
alist feelings of people to her own  
advantage, Mrs. Gandhi started  
speaking of external threats to  
Indian unity and security in a rising  
crescendo, but she never speci-  
fied the source of the threat. It  
appears that the aim of her vague  
statements was to keep the politi-  
cal atmosphere hot with a kind of  
fear psychosis about the danger to  
the integrity and unity of the coun-  
try.

The communal card was yet  
another weapon to arouse the fear  
psychosis. The effort started  
innocuously with Indira Gandhi's  
visits to temples and was followed  
by her hobnobbing with gurus,  
acharyas, tantriks and astrologers.  
Her strategy of padding to the  
religious sentiments of Hindus was  
applied in a number of states with  
good results.

It was first of all tried in Delhi in  
1983 to defeat BJP in Metropol-  
itan Council elections. A few  
months later, the same strategy  
was tried in Jammu and Kashmir  
elections. While the valley went  
with Farooq Abdullah, Jammu

**It is inconceivable  
that all the arms  
were smuggled into  
the Golden Temple  
and the  
Gurudwaras  
without the  
knowledge of the  
government.  
Training camps  
must have been  
held in Punjab but  
the government  
named only  
Pakistan and the  
non-Congress ruled  
Jammu and  
Kashmir as the  
training grounds  
for extremists.  
Besides terrorism  
was allowed to run  
rampant during  
President's rule  
despite the strong  
presence of the  
Punjab Police, the  
CRPF and the BSF.  
No action was  
taken to identify  
and apprehend the  
killers of DIG  
Police who shot  
him dead right in  
front of the Golden  
Temple in broad  
day light and  
allegedly escaped  
into the temple. It  
is also inexplicable  
why Bhindranwale  
was given the  
choice of the day,  
time and place of  
his arrest in  
September 1981.**

went with Congress(I). In fact, it  
was such a sweep in the Jammu  
region that once again the strategy  
that Mrs. Gandhi had been  
developing received clear confir-  
mation.

Mrs. Gandhi was quite clear in  
her outlook on Punjab. For her, the  
Punjab situation, though explo-  
sive, promised a lot to her party.  
With every murder that the terror-  
ists committed and with every vio-  
lent incident that took place, she  
was moving nearer her objective,  
electoral victory. The state admin-  
istration had collapsed; the police  
force was demoralised; terrorism  
was gaining strength day by day;  
even the imposition of the Presi-  
dent's Rule at the close of 1983  
did not change the situation; and  
only drastic measures could  
reverse it. Mrs. Gandhi knew that  
military intervention was neces-  
sary but the elections were more  
than a year away. According to her  
calculations, the military action  
should be as near the election as  
possible so that she could take  
credit for restoring normalcy.  
Therefore things had to be kept  
going without a total breakdown.

As the situation in Punjab deter-  
iorated with each passing day  
pressure began to mount on the  
government to do something. But  
Mrs. Gandhi still did not act. So  
much so even the murder to a  
D.I.G. of police was swallowed.  
She knew that she would hit but  
the choice of the timing would be  
entirely hers. In the meantime a  
number of opportunities to arrive  
at a settlement with Akalis on their  
demands and agitation were  
missed.

Thus was created the atmos-  
phere for Operation Blue Star after  
which the entire country hailed her  
as a saviour, for she had presum-  
ably prevented the formation of  
Khalistan. Congress(I) made a  
huge political capital out of the  
euphoria and manipulated it with  
the help of the media. If the Sikhs  
were sullen, it could not be helped.  
The Congress(I) had lined up a  
large part of the country behind  
her and its victory in the coming  
parliamentary elections was no  
more in doubt.

The government had used the  
extremists to attack the Akali Dal,  
and then used the reticence of the  
latter on the question of extremism  
or its failure to counteract extrem-  
ism to create prejudices against  
them and the opposition parties.

It is inconceivable that all the  
arms were smuggled into the  
Golden Temple and the Gurud-  
waras without the knowledge of  
the government. Training camps  
must have been held in Punjab but  
the government named only Pak-  
istan and the non-Congress ruled  
Jammu and Kashmir as the train-  
ing grounds for extremists.  
Besides terrorism was allowed to

run rampant during President's  
rule despite the strong presence of  
the Punjab Police, the CRPF and  
the BSF. No action was taken to  
identify and apprehend the killers  
of DIG Police who shot him dead  
right in front of the Golden Temple  
in broad day light and allegedly  
escaped into the temple. It is also  
inexplicable why Bhindranwale  
was given the choice of the day,  
time and place of his arrest in Sep-  
tember 1981. There are many  
such unanswered questions which  
were drowned in the Post-  
Operation Bluestar euphoria and  
befogged the politics of encour-  
agement to extremism.

Thus it was in the context of cyn-  
ical politics that political exigencies  
were allowed to dominate that  
decision making process in  
Punjab. There was a political  
motive behind the game each  
party or group played without real-  
ising its consequences. After a  
point, the game became self-  
defeating and culminated in the  
Operation Bluestar, assassination  
of the Prime Minister, and large  
scale killing of Sikhs in many parts  
of the country and of the innocents  
in Punjab by extremists.

After 1984 Parliamentary elec-  
tions it looked as if as a result of  
changed political situation, appre-  
ciation of grave consequences of  
dithering and new generation of  
leadership, there was a desire for  
policy of reconciliation in place of  
confrontation. July 1985 Rajiv  
Gandhi-Longwal Accord was a  
sign to this direction. But this  
euphoria too was short lived. Soon  
power politics took precedence  
and decisions began to be taken  
on the basis of expediency to win  
elections. Thus not only the  
Accord was not implemented but  
democratically elected Barnala  
government was dismissed on the  
eve of Haryana elections.

What is important to understand  
is that the prevailing politics in  
Punjab presents a case of futuris-  
tic issues being replaced by  
revenge and chauvinist issues at  
a critical moment of the develop-  
ment rhythm of the state. The con-  
flict over power has been  
aggravated by overall decay of the  
democratic system; a decay which  
is marked by personality based  
politics, corruption in administra-  
tion and cynical manipulation of  
issues and people.

A durable resolution of the crisis  
in Punjab, therefore, calls for bold  
initiatives not only on the economic  
and administrative front, but also  
at ideological level, and that too  
not only in Punjab but in the coun-  
try as a whole. This lies in struc-  
tured changes in the model of  
economic development and  
strengthening the democratic and  
federal institutions. ●



## HINDUISM

### Opportunity To Get Back Into His Fold

Every individual soul, whatever may be the form it is made to assume (human, being, beast or bird), is of God's and is a scintillation from Him. The soul is the Almighty's property but it has been misappropriated by men to serve their selfish ends. What sin can be more heinous than that of an arch-thief who makes away with God's property? To a great extent, human beings could be compared to such thieves because they have got dissevered from Him.

God arrests this tendency by providing opportunities to the fallen souls to come back into His fold. He deposes His aides to reform the people and spell out the guidelines to secure release from thralldom. The task was entrusted to saints who were called Azhwars, who were coordinate, co-eval and co-substantial with God.

One of those thus canonised was Goda (Gift of Mother Earth), popularly called Andal (whose birth asterism fell on Friday). Her hymns relating to God-love in "Nachiar Thirumozhi" and in the "Thiruppavai" are outstanding contributions to Vaishnavite religious literature. They refer to the loving of the individual soul to seek the feet of God at the earliest time and getting released from worldly bondage.

The "divine" child was not born in its strict term but was noticed by another saint, Vishnu Chittar (also called Periazhwar), among the holy Basil bushes (a grove of Tulasi plants). The saint was engaged in the service of the deity Vatapatasayee in Srivilliputhur by decorating the idol with floral garlands. Once he found the foster-daughter wearing the garland intended for God and admiring her beauty in front of a mirror. This displeased the Azhwar who childed her for the act of sacrilege. But God told the saint in his dream that He belonged to her and would wed her.

**The soul is the Almighty's property but it has been misappropriated by men to serve their selfish ends. What sin can be more heinous than that of an arch-thief who makes away with God's property?**

The spiritual transmutation became complete when she was led by her foster-father to Srirangam where Lord Ranganatha welcomed her and took her as His spouse. Andal's image is installed in all temples and her glory is sung even today.

## CHRISTIANITY

### The Bliss Of The Broken Heart

One of the beatitudes pronounced by Lord Jesus was: "Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted." This can be taken quite literally. Blessed, happy, privileged is the person who has had at least once the chance of enduring the bitterest sorrow that life can bring. Such a person will better understand the sufferings of others. He will also appreciate his own blessings better. Only a man who has gone very hungry will know what a blessing and happiness it is to eat a satisfying meal. Only a person who loses an eye can fully appreciate the wonder of sight.

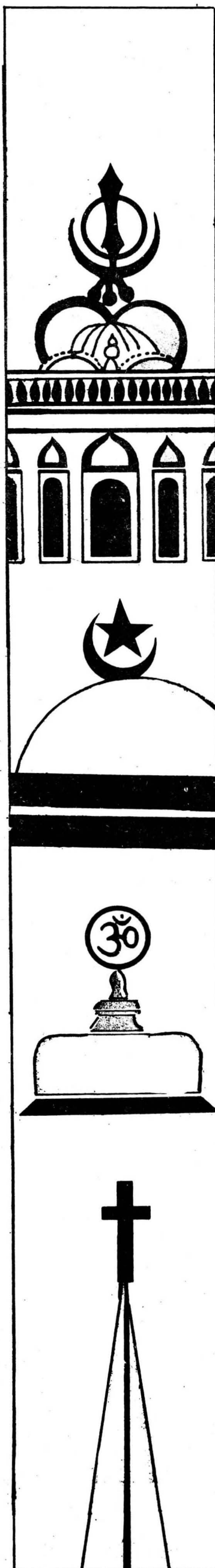
The Arabs have a proverb: "All sunshine makes a desert." Sunshine is undoubtedly one of the greatest blessings of God. Without sunshine there would be no life on earth. But constant sunshine will turn the good earth into a useless desert. In an arid place no fruit will grow. There are certain things which only the rains will produce; and certain experiences which only sorrow can beget.

Sorrow can do two things for us. It can show us, as nothing else can, the essential kindness of our fellow-men; and it can show us as nothing else can the comfort and compassion of God. Many and many a man in the hour of his sorrow has discovered his fellow-men and his God as he never did before.

**Sorrow can do two things for us. It can show us, as nothing else can, the essential kindness of our fellow-men; and it can show, as nothing else can, the comfort and compassion of God.**

This beatitude can also mean: Blessed are those who are desperately sorry for the sorrow and suffering of this world. Only persons who are deeply moved by the condition of the poor will do something to alleviate poverty. From time immemorial rulers have promised to eradicate poverty. All political parties give prime importance in their manifestos to the removal and alleviation of poverty. But anything substantial is done only by missionaries like Mother Teresa and Baba Amte.

The beatitude also means: Blessed is the man who is desperately sorry for his own sin and his own unworthiness. The first message of Jesus was, "Repent". No man can repent unless he is sorry for his sins. One of the great functions of the Cross is to open the eyes of men and women to the horror of sin. And when a man sees sin in all its horror he cannot do anything else but experience



## SIKHISM

### Honest Living

The three main teachings of Guru Nanak which are the pillars of Sikhism and every Sikh is supposed to practise are *Nam Japna*—recitation of God's Name, *Kirat Karni*—honest living and *Wand Ghakna*—sharing your earnings with others especially who come in the category of have-nots.

In the short space available to us in this issue we would explain the implication of his teaching No. 2.

In the very beginning of Guru Granth Sahib there is a small couplet of Guru Nanak which refers mainly to this teaching. India has unfortunately degraded a great deal in the means and methods adopted to increase the income. A rat race is on and we often hear of bribery, black money, etc. People who have amassed wealth in this way utilize some of it for helping the needy in food and clothing, etc. thus consoling themselves that this charity will help them to get favours from God. Nothing could be more untrue for Guru Nanak couplet says.

*Hak praya Nanka us Soor us gai, Gu pu Hamata bhare ja murdar na khai*

To deprive one of his due to eat the (forbidden) cow, and swine for the other. The Guru teacher stands by us, if we usurp not another's due.

**People who have amassed wealth utilize some of it for helping the needy in food and clothing, thus consoling themselves that this charity will help them to get favours from God.**

In the life of Guru Nanak there is a beautiful story about it. When he was at Emnabad, living as a guest with Bhai Lalo—an ordinary carpenter but God fearing and humble—one very rich man of the area, who happened to be influential, announced the celebration of Brahan Bhoj where lot of money, all extorted from the public, was spent on various eatables for everyone who was invited. Guru Nanak was enjoying the old adage—plain living and high thinking, i.e. sharing the simple and coarse food offered by Lalo but earned by the sweat his brow and fully occupied in *Satsang* meditation and singing of God's praise. Why should Guru Nanak go to this rich, haughty and greedy Malik Bhago. The Brahmins complained to him about Guru Nanak's refusal as a personal affront. Malik Bhago sent word, reminder and finally soldiers, to bring forcibly Guru Nanak to the feast.

Guru Nanak had a dramatic way of doing things for convincing his

## ISLAM

### Basic Message

The basic message that the Prophet was required to convey to the people was the message of Tauheed, Oneness of Allah. The mission of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) is described in Quran Majeed in the following terms:

"He is Who sent His messenger with guidance and the religion of Truth that He set it above all religions and sufficient in Allah for a witness" (48:28 61:9).

His verses, purifies them and teaches them the Book and the Wisdom, although aforetime they were in plain error" (62:2 65:11)

Obviously, it was an onerous duty for the Holy Prophet and heavy burden to carry. By His Grace and Mercy, Allah helped him and consoled him thus:

"Did we not open your breast for you; and We took off from you your burden which weighed down your back; and exalted your fame". (94: 1-4).

"And of course, the Hereafter is better for you than the herefore; and surely your Guardian Lord shall soon bestow (His bounties) upon you and you shall be pleased". (93: 45).

opponents who would be silenced for good. Malik Bhago was furious that Guru Nanak had not come by himself but had to be persuaded. Guru Nanak knew that *Mayadhari At Anna Bola, Shabad no Suni, buh rol Ghachola*, i.e. the man of riches is blind and deaf. For he hearkens not to the word, his mind being filled with the noise (of riches). Since Malik Bhago had talked in rather degrading terms of Bhai Lalo's food Guru Nanak asked for the food of both that of Brahan Bhoj and that of Bhai Lalo from his cottage and right in front of all the spectators and to the horror and surprise of Malik Bhago, taking the food of each in his hands pressed the same—Oh! What a sight—that of P. B. Bhoj—blood drops trickled down and that from Bhai Lalo's milk

**..... Malik was stunned and realised that methods adopted for collection of funds had agonised and brought suffering to the common people and fell at the feet of Guru Nanak.**

drops came out. Malik was stunned and realised that methods adopted for collection of funds had agonised and brought suffering to the common people and fell at the feet of the Master. This incident may be 500 years old but its moral is as true as ever.



By Sampuran Singh

**T**he Sangeet Kala Sangam, Bhopal, organized recently a three-day "Festival of Emotional Integration" designating it as "Parampara" reminiscent of India's ancient harmonious culture and professedly "drawing its inspiration from the Guru Granth Sahib, a rare combination of poetry, human values, music, love, peace and devotion" with its 6000 verses in 31 regas. The retired Judge of the Supreme Court, Justice A.N. Grover, presided over the inaugural function and several renowned writers, leaders and vocalists made their contributions to the success of the conclave.

Except for the relevance of the delightful music in which the holy verses were meticulously rendered, emphasis came, however, to be diverted mainly to the political scenario in the country, more particularly on the dire need for safeguarding the Hindu-Sikh unity presently threatened by the recurrent terrorist onslaughts. The Kala Sangam's was quite a well-timed exercise in emotional integration of the two communities, otherwise linked indissolubly in an umbilical cord relationship.

It will be opportune to extend the dimensions of this exercise to another, an equally crucial exercise embracing national integration preached consistently by the Guru Granth Sahib and other Sikh scriptures.

Taking up the religious angle first, the Guru Granth Sahib comprises, besides the Sikh Gurus' compositions, hundreds of verses of the non-Sikh saints produced by the Bhakti movement that swept the country in the 13th-16th centuries. There are, for instance, backward class Hindus-Namdev with 61 verses, Kabir (an abandoned child brought up in a backward Hindu family) with 464 and Ravidas with 50. There are other Hindus, fewer verses - Trilochan, Jai Dev Ramanand and Surdas, Dhanna, Parmanand, Sadhna, Sain, Pipa. There are also Farid, a Muslim, and Bhikam, a Sufi Muslim.

Linguistically, the *Bhakt Vani* is the rule, Hindi admixing with the native tongue. There is, for example, Namdev's Marathi mingling with Hindi,—"eebho beethal, bobho beethal, beethal bin sansar naheen", and "male no laachhe par malo paramlees bathaulee saee, aavat Kine na pekhio Kavai jaanoi reo baanee, kin boojhai amayya aakul ree bai"; Kabir's "awwal. allaah noor upaayaa udrat de sabh bande, ek noor te abh jag upjayaa kaun bhale kaun bande", or Trilochan's Marathi touch in "daadhule Lankagarh, paarheele ravan bal, sal bisal an tokheele haree, Karam Karathoute mafeetasaree", or Farid's Multani dialect in "jo tain aaram mukkiaan, tinaan no aareen ghum, aapare ghar aege pair tinaan de chum", or Ravidas's Prakrit (Sanskrit) in "paraad purkh manopimani sat and

# Sikh Scriptures And National Integration

*bhavaratan, param pad katam par-ikio param jad chitam sarb gatam, kewal raam namn manoramam, bad amrit tat maiam."*

Significantly, the *shabads* of

rastra contributed two. Namdev from Satara and Trilochan from Sholapur. Jaidev was from Orissa, Bengal, Bhikhan from Lucknow, Sadhna from Sindh, Sain from

there is ample evidence of its commonality and mutual give and take as evidenced in the Guru Granth Sahib. For instance, there are *ragas*, classical and other,

**The Guru Granth Sahib holds aloft the resplendent multi-coloured banner of national integration with "solidarity" embalzoned in gold, proclaiming that all the people of the country, irrespective of caste, religion, trade or place of birth or work, are inseparable constituents of one great family destined to live and prosper in harmony and peace. Separate from other holy books, this is the distinctive service of the Sikh scriptures to the nation, building bridges of amity and friendship between man and man.**

some Sikh Gurus, too, are couched in *bhakt vani*. For instance, 9th Guru's "*maee main dhan paaio haree-namin, man mere dhaavan te chhootio kar baitho bisramm*"; or 5th Guru's "*bhav khandan dukh bhanjan Swaamee bhagat vachhal niran-kaare, kot praadh mite khin bheetar jaan gurmukh naam samaare*", and "*Khaak noor kardan aalam duniyaa, asmaan jimeen darakhataab paidaish Khudaa, duniyaa murdaar khurdanee ghaafil hawaae*". Guru Arjun begins his Sukhmani Sahib with "*Aad gur-a nameh, jugaad gur-e nameh, sat gur-e nameh, sri gurdev-e, nameh*". Again Hindi dominates Gur Tagh Bahadur's epilogue near the end of the Guru Granth Sahib beginning with "*gun gobind gaayo naheen janam akarath keen*", and likewise in Guru Gobind Singh's *Jaap Sahib*, *Bachittar Natak* and other writings.

From the social point of view the Sikh scriptures discard all distinctions based on caste or religion and stress equality and brotherhood of man as the key doctrine. For example "*ek pitta ekas ke ham baalak*", "*maanas kee jaat sobh ekai pechaanbo*", or "*deoraa maseet soee, poojaa ao namaaz oee, maanas sabe ek pai anek ko bhramaao hai*".

Again Kabir a weaver, Namdev a washerman, Ravidas a shoemaker, Sadhna a butcher, Dhanna a Jat. Trilochan a Vaish Hindu, Jaidev a learned Brahmin, Ramanand and Surdas, Brahmins, Bhikhan a Sufi-Fakir and Farid a Muslim—all are ranked as equals and their compositions have been accorded the same regard and hospitality as other writings.

As regards the parts of India from which the saints hailed, while the Gurus belonged to Central Punjab, Farid lived at Pak Pattan (Multan) now in Pakistan and worked at Hansi (Haryana). Maha-

Rewa and Ramandand, Kabir and Ravidas from Varanasi (Uttar Pradesh).

Adverting to another aspect of our social life namely, our country's culture as manifested in its music,

Gauree, Billawal, Wadahams, soohee, jaitasaree, Gond and Gujree (folk song of cowherds), sung all over India. Again, there are Saarang and Sri Rag South Indian varieties, Tilang originally

from Talangana, Malhaar, Todee and Kanarha associated with a Muslim Mian Tan Sain of Gwallior, Aasaa first composed according to some scholars by Guru Nanak and the currently popular sorath originally from Saurashtra. They all represented the shared experiences of Indians from all over the land.

If for a moment a digression from the scriptures is permitted, support for our present theme is furnished also by two facts—one that it was a Muslim Mardana who accompanied Guru Nanak with his rebeck (rabaab) during his missionary tours in India and abroad, and two, that the foundation of the Sikh *sanctum sanctorum*, the Golden Temple, was laid by a Muslim Fakir, Mian Mir.

It is, therefore, clear as the day that, our diversity notwithstanding, the Sikh scriptures, especially the Guru Granth Sahib, hold aloft the resplendent multi-coloured banner of national integration with "SOLIDARITY" embalzoned in gold, proclaiming that all the people of the country, irrespective of caste, religion, trade or place of birth or work, are inseparable constituents of one great family destined to live and prosper in harmony and peace. Separate from other holy books, this is the distinctive service of the Sikh scriptures to the nation, building bridges of amity and friendship between man and man.

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## "I've Become A Fundamentalist"

**L**opok (Chanan Singh, 67, S/o S. Hakim Singh), is an Amritdhari Sikh belonging to a lower class farmer. Being uneducated he devotes most of his time towards meditation. He has seen and passed about four years and nine months in the hell of Jodhpur jail, like other innocent prisoners. While explaining his tale of his detention in Jodhpur jail, he had stated, "after finishing my collection of the grains of harvest I came to Harmandir Sahib on the 3rd of June 1984 to celebrate the martyrdom day of the 5th Guru. On that day curfew was imposed in the town. In the morning at about



Jodhpur jail the bread served to us was very poor in quality being mingled with small pieces of stones. About 70% of the prisoners got suffered from piles trouble because of excessive use of red

### Tales From Jodhpur Jail

4 A.M. firing was started. I also took shelter in a corner of the Sarai. On the 4th June even after hearing the announcement we did not come out on the 6th of June. We were then arrested inside the Darbar Sahib. Out of us young boys were sorted out and put to torture. We were beaten by iron-rods and butts of the guns. We were then made to sit near the watch tank in a crowd of 200.

Afterwards at the midnight we were taken to the Cantonment. We were dumped in a small room like a chaff. For a day no water or food was supplied. For two months we were beaten and interrogated. Thereafter, on the 6th Feb, 85, our hands were tied back and we were flown covering our faces to Nabha jail. After locking up in "chakkies" for three days we were taken to barracks. In the

chillies. Because of very low quality of food my legs had weakened and my eyesight was badly affected. There we faced difficulties like other prisoners so far as meetings were concerned. During my imprisonment my younger child had stopped going school. My two sister-in-laws (brothers' wives) and one nephew had expired during that period. Police was keeping my house under surveillance and harassing members of my family. Now, my whole body is wrecked and I think of doing some agriculture in my village. I have lost faith in both the Akalis and the government. I have full faith in the Taxal. Now I am a fundamentalist. I would feel happy only if all our other colleague prisoners are released."

—Sharam Singh Punnu

### AN APPEAL

Dear Friend:

On Baisakhi day, three years back, we started this magazine without raising any capital or collecting donations. When it was brought out, everybody told that once we start, the support is bound to follow. This had not happened. In spite of this we have persisted and managed to continue. The paper has been very well accepted and appreciated by intellectuals, with its obvious limitations.

At this stage we will like to draw your attention to some of the developments which underline the importance and necessity of an English paper which speaks for minorities and human rights. What happened in 1984 and particularly in November 1984 are the details that do not have to be recalled. Our point of view was never projected with the result that the poisonous propaganda of the electronic media created a hostile environment. Consequently when killings took place, except for a handful of courageous and upright people, hardly anyone spoke out in protest.

The situation has not significantly changed. In September 1988, six persons were killed in Bidar. At first the incident was more or less ignored by the media. Later when the harrowing events came to light blame was put on Sikh students for their alleged misbehaviour. As you are aware of, this magazine was the first, perhaps the only one, to send a team to investigate into and report the gruesome killing of the innocents there in Bidar.

Similarly in January 1989 in Jammu 12 persons were killed and the earlier reports either played down or misrepresented the situation.

To collectively counter these problems we ourselves have to act more effectively. Paucity of resources and manpower are the main constraints.

You are requested to send your contribution by cash, cheque, draft, etc. in favour of THE FORUM GAZETTE, 3, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi-14, at the earliest. Your contribution can be adjusted, as desired—towards subscription for the paper, advertisement or outright donation. In a matter like this we need everybody's cooperation. In addition to your personal help we request you to persuade others. At least send us the names and addresses of such people whom we should approach in this matter. Your suggestions are requested and will be given serious attention.

Sincerely,

Lt. Gen. (Retd.) J.S. Aurora  
Chairman

## Health Is The Greatest Wealth

By Paraminder Singh Gujral

**W**hoever said that health is the greatest wealth or for that matter, the only wealth must have been a rank materialist or a worshipper of Mammon. Nobody knows the origin of this syndrome. Whether it was an oriental or occidental concept, it is anybody's guess. While the westerner sets much store to this idea, his oriental counterpart although talking day in and day out about the transience of the material world, somehow always would like to measure everything his kinsmen not excluded in terms of hard, jingling cash. What a hapless state of affair we have come to

None of us needs to be reminded about the saying 'if health is lost something is lost'—now need some cash for this something and you know what you have got. But if nothing is lost when wealth is lost as ordained by the very same seer or oracle then by what stretch of imagination can we equate health with wealth?

With the metamorphosis in the interpretation of the modern character, we could also argue that after all everything is not lost with the loss or decimation of character seen the great waves made by our illustrious Pamella Bordes bringing a medieval transformation in our appraisal of the human character. By her example, most of the modern liberated minds would like us to believe that the rest of the world lacks the character to judge a Pamella Bordes who after enticing diplomats and resorting to espionage putting to shame the great and only Mata Hari in the process would appear to be stronger character than anyone else. And our present day leaders who without character are both healthy they are wealthy and not the other way round. They have diseased mind, even if the bodies may be healthy that's a different question

So what we would like to emphasise is that with wealth it not very difficult to be of healthy because even wrestler needs

wealth or money to keep in good, sound physical shape. But can a person living with a ruddy complexion living in the mountains call himself wealthy, wallowing all the 24 hours in penury and abject want. For that matter, many of us would like to be wealthy enough to pay up the medical bills rather than be healthy but poor because our social, moral and sociological mores and values have undergone a sea-change and we don't know what is what.

We conclude by saying that a healthy body and a contented mind are God's greatest boons and blessings to mankind. As Plato said, "Self contentment is the greatest jewel in life" and no amount of wealth and health can bring tranquillity in the same manner as a ruddy complexion with empty pockets. Let us pray to the Almighty to make us wealthy enough to enjoy good health—healthy enough to earn wealth to satisfy our basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. Nothing more and nothing less.

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## DID YOU KNOW?

### Sound

**R**ustle, rumble, roar; scream, shriek, screech; whisper, warble, whimper; murmur, slam, purr. These are only a few of the names we have for different sounds. We need many such names, because there are many different sounds.

Some sounds are soft. Some are loud. Some sounds are high. Some are low. Some sounds are pleasant. Some are unpleasant. But they are all made in the same way. Do you know how?

#### What causes sound?

Sound is caused when a solid, a liquid or a gas is made to vibrate.

ground, hares catch every vibration that comes from here. Sounds are very important to this almost defenceless animal.

#### Does a bat 'see' with his ears?

Bats are extremely clever flyers, even in the deepest darkness. How do they manage this? During their flight, bats make short, rapid and very high-pitched sounds which we cannot hear. These sounds are reflected from the objects the bat passes and with his big ears he catches the echoes. In this way a bat can find his way in the dark without any mistakes. A bat has very poor eyesight so, in a way, he does 'see' with his ears.

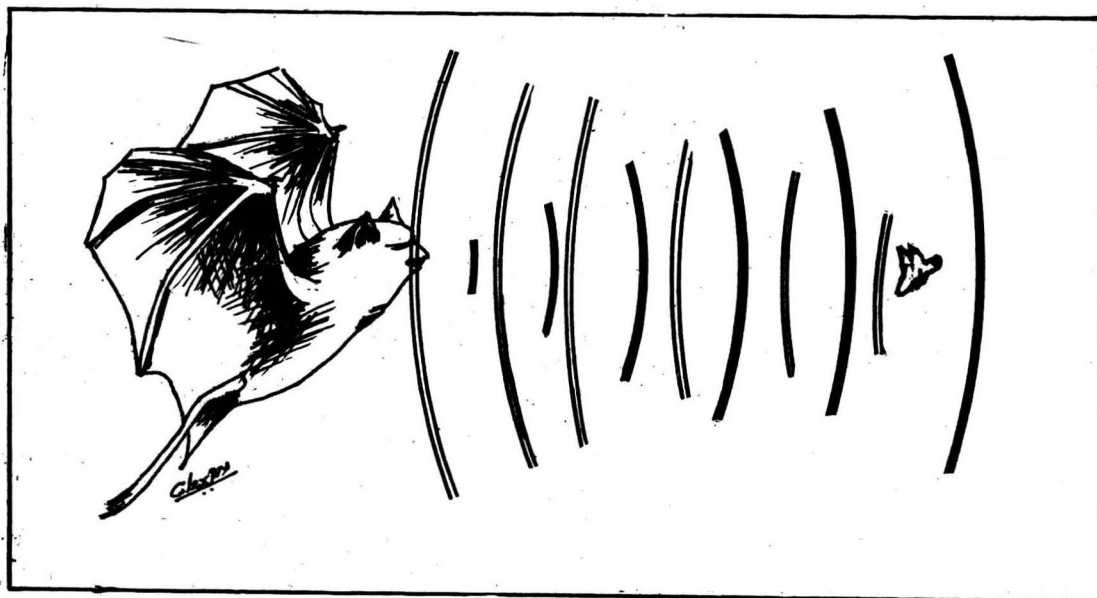
Many tests have been made to discover the secrets of the flying

ship, for instance, sends out radio waves which are reflected back by other ships, by icebergs, etc. This echoing sound causes flashes of light to appear on the radar screen. Radio waves travel very fast, about 186,000 miles an hour, so a radar set works in fraction of a second.

It is now possible to use radar to guide ships into harbour in a thick fog. Radar is also used to assist aircraft when landing.

#### What is the speed of sound?

Sound waves travel through the air at a speed of 1,086 feet per second. When one remembers that the fastest runners cover 100 yards in 9 seconds, one realises just how fast sound travels.



For example, a church bell is rung; the solid (metal) is made to vibrate by the clapper.

#### What are sound waves?

Sound travels through the air in waves. These waves are like the ripples that are made when a stone is thrown into a pond. The same sort of thing happens with the sound waves which finally reach our ears.

#### Why do hares have long ears?

Hares do not see very well, but they have very keen hearing. Their long ears catch every sound that might mean danger. Also, because they live so close to the

skill of bats. In one such test, a big room was strung with a large number of criss-crossed wires and a small bell hung from each wire. To make it impossible for the bat to see anything with its eyes, the room was completely darkened. When the animal was released, it fluttered in every direction, but not a single bell was heard. This proved that the bat could avoid the wires by means of the echoes received by his ears.

#### What is radar?

Radar (short for Radio Detecting and Ranging) is a wonderful invention. The word means locating and measuring the distance by means of radio waves. It is rather like the bat's hearing. The radar set of

#### What do we know about the echo?

When there is an obstacle in the way of the sound waves, such as a building, a wall of rock or even a tree, then the sound is reflected. This is called an echo.

All substances do not reflect sound in the same way. Curtains and carpets in a room act as sound-proofing. In radio broadcasting studios the walls are often covered with materials like cork to prevent echoes. In churches and concert halls reverberation—echoing and re-echoing—is often a problem. Efforts are made to correct this with such instruments as sounding boards.

### The Surrey Puma

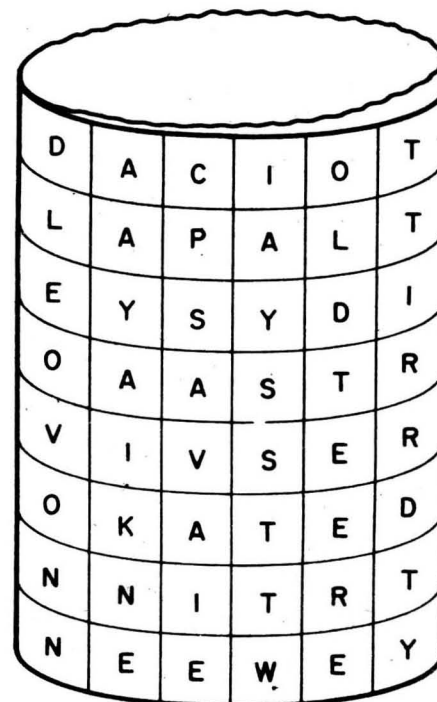
**F**or over 25 years, there have been regular reported sightings of a large cat-like beast roaming the English countryside. Most of these reports have come from Surrey and so the animal has become known as 'The Surrey Puma'. There are also records of deer and sheep being killed by this mysterious animal. But, to date, no



one has ever managed to find more evidence of the beast. There are, however, so many sightings on record that it seems quite likely that some sort of big cat is roaming the countryside. Whether the creature is an escaped zoo animal, a prehistoric creature, a ghost or merely a figment of the imagination remains to be discovered.

### In the Can

The answers to the clues all begin with CAN. The remaining letters are on the can. Each letter may be used once only.



- 1 Card game
- 2 Accepted principle or rule
- 3 Choral work
- 4 Honest; direct
- 5 Container
- 6 Geographical feature
- 7 Tufted patterned material
- 8 Bird
- 9 Cover over bed or seat
- 10 Cloth for sails
- 11 Beam supporting a bridge or balcony
- 12 Office or factory restaurant

#### Answers

1. Canasta, 2. Canon, 3. Cantata, 4. Candid, 5. Canister, 6. Canyon, 7. Candlewick, 8. Canary, 9. Canopy, 10. Canvas, 11. Cantilever, 12. Canteen

—Compiled by A.C. Razia

### AN APPEAL

#### HELP THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN OF NOVEMBER 1984 WIDOWS

The Sikh Forum is providing financial assistance for education of orphan children of the violence since early 1984. Since January 1988, this has been transferred to a Trust named "Citizens' Relief Rehabilitation & Education Fund". This trust is duly registered and have obtained IT exemption under section 80G of IT Act 1961 at present valid till 30 Nov 1990.

The sponsoring member/family/organisation who wish to sponsor one or more children will be provided with full particulars of the child i.e., name, age, sex, present address, grade, school and photograph of the child. Minimum monthly stipend required for educating a child is Rs. 75/- or Rs. 900/- (\$75) annually. The number of children who need this assistance is approximately 1200. We have been able to arrange donors for 910 children as well as for those who may withdraw at the end of the year.

We are approaching you with an appeal to enrol yourself as a donor to sponsor as many children's education as you can for five years, if possible.

The draft cheque should be made in favour of "Citizen Rehabilitation & Education Fund" and sent to 3, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi-110014.



# Conserve Or Perish

By Medini Prasad

**M**an, by nature, rises to the occasion only when faced with a problem at its most critical stage. The same has happened with environmental pollution which has arrested our attention only at this last stage. Although an intellectual awareness has been created, the masses, by and large, continue to remain oblivious of the terrible disaster that awaits with environmental pollution approaching the saturation point fast.

## Water Pollution

**E**nvironmental pollution is a many-faceted problem. The problem of water pollution is the most acute one. Water is the single largest carrier of diseases in the world. The fast pace of development and industrialization has polluted our rivers, lakes and seas with deadly effluents and wastes. Every day millions of gallons of industrial wastes and effluents are discharged into rivers, streams, lakes and seas. The World Health Organisation has estimated that India alone loses as many as 73 million mandays every year due to water borne diseases. The cost of treating them and the consequent loss in production amount to Rs.600 crores a year. In our country about 20 lakh people die every year from water-borne diseases. 70% of available water in India is polluted. Ganga is perhaps the most polluted river in the world according to environmentalists. Out of 2033 km. of its water flow, 480 km. is polluted in varying degrees. Polluted water from sewages and industrial effluents flow into this river from 100 including 27 Class-I cities located on its banks. 84 per cent of the pollution of this river could be checked if these big cities are prevented from polluting it.

## Air Pollution

**T**he atmospheric layer upto a height of 10 kms is vital for sustaining life on the earth. The ecological balance of this life supporting atmospheric layer has been badly disturbed by various types of poisonous gases, radioactive fall outs, soot and things like that. Smoke constitutes the major part of the environmental pollution. We continue to burn fuel at the present rate, the increase in atmospheric carbon dioxide would be about 25 percent by the year 2000 AD. We not only extract oxygen from the atmosphere for breathing but also destroy the forests and trees which are the chief sources of oxygen. Every year millions of tons of gaseous pollutants

are injected into the atmosphere.

Of the 14 crore households in our country, 80 percent use wood or cow dung for fuel. Non-commercial fuels such as firewood, cowdung and agricultural waste comprise more than 40 percent of the total energy consumed in the country which cause the large-scale destruction of environment.

Pollution of the atmosphere by automobile exhaust has already reached dangerous proportions. In Delhi itself there are about, 12,00,000 autovehicles playing on the roads which cause air pollution. Eighty per cent of Indian automobiles are more than five years old. Such automobiles emit large quantities of carbon monoxide, hydro-carbons, nitrogen and other pollutants.

## Noise Pollution

**N**oise pollution is another offshoot of mindless industrialization and thoughtless use of machinery. The 1972 Stockholm Conference on pollution had recorded that: "Of all forms of pollution noise is the most insistent yet easiest to control". In the report noise has been described as a curse of modern times.

Noise emanates from various sources. The autovehicles are a great source of noise pollution. Then there is the ubiquitous microphones and loudspeakers that blare out a cacophony of voices that is quite unbearable to the ears. Be it a puja or public meeting; marriage ceremony or burial procession use of microphone is considered a must. Playing music at high pitch is a common phenomenon. Those who play music on loudspeakers think that the entire world would relish it. They least bother for those who want some peace for sleeping, studying, serious thinking or meditation.

Noise is an agent of death. Apart from impairing hearing power it may change a man's mental balance, upset his nerves and cause heart attacks. It is high time that we thought of a Noise Pollution Prevention Act.

## Laws And Legislations

**T**he legal control of pollution was available even in British India. The Indian Penal Code, 1872, Section 277 says, Whoever voluntarily corrupts or fouls the water of any public spring or reservoir, so as to render it less fit for the purpose for which it is ordinarily used, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both".

Before dealing with the various

legislative acts to control environmental pollution in independent India, it may be pertinent to have

Ours is an interdependent world in which we demand freeflow of goods and services, idea and information but not the free flow of pollution. We shape a world economy and also a world environment. The choice is ours—conserve or perish.

a glance at the United Nations Declaration on the Human Environment held in June 1972 at

Stockholm which proclaims that "Man is both the creator and moulder of his environment, which gives him physical sustenance and affords him the opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth.....The protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well being of peoples and economic development throughout the world, it is the urgent desire of the peoples of the whole world and the duty of all Governments".

In free India, an expert committee on water pollution was set up way back in 1962. But it was the Stockholm Conference of 1972 which paved the way for the well conceived water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act of 1974 which served as a model for the Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act of 1981.

The Government of India set up a National Committee on Environmental Planning and Coordination (NCEPC) in 1972 which is now known as National Committee on Environmental Planning (NCEP) which undertakes environmental appraisal of developmental projects, human settlements planning, surveys of natural ecosystems and spread of environmental awareness among the masses.

India is among those few countries which have sought constitutional remedies for environmental

protection. Articles 48-A and 51-A of the Directive Principles and Fundamental Duties respectively of our Constitution provide judicial protection to environmental conservation. As such the state and the citizen are under a fundamental obligation to protect and improve the environment.

However, the success of all legislations depend on local action through the Panchayats and the local bodies. The spread of slums stagnating drains, mindless spread of garbage and other health hazards can only be tackled by local actions. People's participation is the first requisite. And to ensure people's involvement, Panchayati Raj institutions must be geared up by giving them power to take on the spot decisions and to implement them effectively.

Action has already been initiated to provide environmental education to children from the primary school to the university level. But it has to be given concrete form and made a part of both curricular and extracurricular activities.

Ours is an interdependent world in which we demand free flow of goods and services, idea and information but not the free flow of pollution. We must think and act as citizens of the world as Pt. Nehru visualised long ago. We shape a world economy and also a world environment. The choice is ours—conserve or perish. ●

## The **FORUM** Gazette

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**L**ike playing an instant thrill, the Board of control for Cricket in India (BCCI), bowled out some of the high-standing players from the team to the amazement of many a cricket-minded man in the last fortnight. A five-member disciplinary committee of the board banned for a year six senior cricketers—Dilip Vengsarkar, Kapil Dev, Ravi Shastri, Mohammed Azharuddin, Kiran More and Arun Lal—besides fining them Rs.35,000 for unauthorised participation in a three-way, three-match cricket series with the West Indies and Pakistan in the US and Canada. Six others: Sanjay Manjrekar, Robin Singh, Margasahayam Venkataramana, Narendra Hirwani, Sanjeev Sharma and Ajay Sharma were fined Rs.50,000 each.

The players were charge-sheeted for going to the US and Canada after the West Indies tour as they are barred from private matches for one year according to clause 7 in the contract. But the players' calling the contract unjust and a formality have ended up in a series of comments for and against the ban.

For too long now, cricket administrators had felt the players had begun to get too big for their boots. Even many former stars had complained that while there was no harm in the players making money, it was being done while performances were slipping due to poor discipline and lack of dedication. Said former captain Nari Contractor: "The ban was necessary because you cannot buy discipline by paying a fine". Added Bishen Singh Bedi: "Professionalism doesn't mean making money—one can make plenty of money on G.B. Road (Delhi's sleaze street). Being professional means primarily having an attitude to succeed." It is well known that barring some conscientious ones, most of the stars had lately been lax about fitness and lacking in team spirit.

## They Asked For It



Dilip Vengsarkar

Azharuddin

Ravi Shastri

Kapil Dev

By Our Own Correspondent

The key question is how much professionalism is too much. The players say it's unfair to stop them from making money at a time when the domestic season is free. Arun Lal points out that against an average businessman's 45 years, a cricketer has no more than 10 years of earning life and it is not wrong for him to be in a hurry to make some money.

"They have broken the contract on purpose. It has been happening a little too much of late. Somebody had to put a stop to it," said Pataudi. Lamented board President, B.N. Dutta: "Some cricketers have become total mercenaries."

The key question, however, is how much professionalism is too much. The players say it's unfair to stop them from making money at a time when the domestic season is free. Arun Lal points out that against an average businessman's 45 years, a cricketer has no more than 10 years of earning life and it is not wrong for him to be in a hurry to make some money.

The problem is that in India pro-

fessionalism is yet to find a definition. Top cricketers make good money in season and decent salaries through the year because corporate giants want stars on their staff. Said Bedi: "Our cricketers have the best of both worlds. Elsewhere these guys are in trouble off-season and slog it out working as plumbers or being on the dole." At least the current controversy should help settle this question.

The players lick their wounds, the board considers strategy, particularly to salvage the star-crossed Nehru Cup which is already reeling under the threat of a second string English team (with top cricketers on a rebel tour to South Africa) and some uncertainty about the arrival of other stars. Organizing Committee Executive President Salve says: "No one is indispensable. Sunny has gone, yet cricket continues." But as the ruling party wants the tournament's success, some behind-the-scenes conciliation efforts have begun. Many share the optimism of New Zealand's Dowling who says: "Surely your country wouldn't like to play this prestigious Nehru Cup without its first team."

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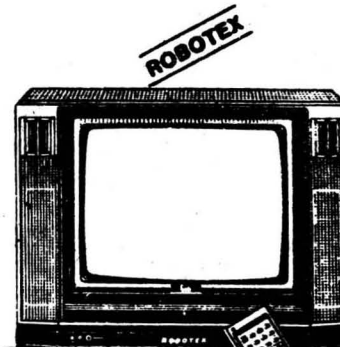
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